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#### THE

# SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

IN THE

## SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION,

1881-1901.

FREDERIC | MACKARNESS. , e mp.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

PUBLISHED BY

THE NATIONAL PRESS AGENCY, LIMITED, WHITEFRIARS HOUSE, CARMELITE STREET, E.C.

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COMPILED BY FREDERIC, MACKARNESS.





#### PREFACE.

During the controversies aroused from 1877-80 respecting what was then known as the Eastern Question, there appeared a recital of events, drawn up by Mr. John E. Ellis, M.P., which I believe had its use in presenting the case with clearness and accuracy, inasmuch as it was a simple chronicle of facts in order of date drawn from official records. Mr. Ellis has suggested to me that a similar record in regard to South African Affairs might be of value, and the following pages are the result of his suggestion. The extracts forming the record are taken largely from official sources.

F. M.

Temple, July 15th, 1901.



## THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS.

1852

Jan. 17 Sand River Convention granting independence to the Transvaal. Article 1.—"The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves without any interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government."

1854

- Feb. 23 Bloemfontein Convention granting independence to the Orange Free State. Article 1.—" Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in entering into a Convention for finally transferring the government of the Orange River Territory to the representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it, guarantees on the part of Her Majesty's Government the future independence of that country and its government."
- 1872. Grant of complete self-government to the Cape Colony.

1877

April 12 Annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain.

1881

Aug. 3 Retrocession of the Transvaal. Pretoria Convention.

Article 1.—" Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory . . . do hereby undertake and guarantee that complete self-government, subject to the Suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory."

1884

Feb. 27 London Convention. South African Republic recognised:

"The following articles of a new convention shall be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of August 3, 1881." The most important restriction (Article 4) provides that "the South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or Nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen." The term Suzerainty is omitted from Preamble and from Articles. Telegram from

Feb. 27 Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, to High Commissioner of South Africa:—"Convention signed to-day. Same complete internal independence in Transvaal as in Orange Free State."

Opening of gold fields on the Witwatersrand in the South

1889

Oct. 29 Royal Charter granted to the British South Africa Company.

1890

Feb. 25 Mr. Hardcastle:—

"I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Suzerainty of the Transvaal was retained by the British Crown when the troops were withdrawn from that country, and what is the nature and value of that Suzerainty."

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith):—
"The Convention of London made in 1884 between Her Majesty and the South African Republic contains no express reservation of the Queen's right of Suzerainty, and although Her Majesty retains under the Convention the power of refusing to sanction treaties made by the South African Republic with foreign States and Nations and with certain native tribes, it is a cardinal principle of that settlement that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with."—(Hansard, Vol. 341, p. 1,168.)

1891

March Seizure by Portuguese of ship, "Countess of Carnarvon," in Limpopo, alleged to be loaded with arms and ammunition to arm natives of interior.

Gun-boats of Sir J. Willoughby stopped by Portuguese from going up the Pungwe.

May Fight between Chartered Company Police and Portuguese in Mashonaland.

July 11 Anglo-Portuguese Convention.
Dr. Jameson made Administrator of Chartered Company's territory.

July 17 Mr. Rhodes becomes Premier of the Cape Colony, supported by the Africander Bond.

Mr. Kruger re-elected President of the Transvaal. Votes, 7,881 for Kruger; 7,009 for Joubert, the progressive candidate. Majority 872.

1893

Oct. 16 Grant of complete self-government to Natal.

Chartered Company's forces invade Matabeleland, overthrow King Lobengula and annex his country.

Transvaal Budget's military expenditure for this year is £17,000.

1894 Transvaal Budget's military expenditure is £,28,000.

1895

Feb. 7 In reply to Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. S. Buxton):—

"As regards the question of Suzerainty, we adhere to the statement made by Mr. W. H. Smith, on behalf of the late Government on Feb. 25th, 1890.—(Hansard, Vol. 30, p. 213.)

July 30 Change of Ministry in England, Mr. Chamberlain becomes Colonial Secretary. Annexation of British Bechuanaland to Cape Colony. Transvaal Budget's military expenditure for this year is £87,000.

Aug. Visit of Dr. Rutherfoord Harris to England to interview Mr. Chamberlain.

Oct. Col. Robert White sent by Mr. Rhodes to ascertain the military state of the Transvaal, reported: "At Pretoria visited the artillery camp . . . None of the guns I saw were fit for much work. . . . Saw the cavalry troop, 250 horses in the camp. These horses were in a miserable condition."

Oct. 18 Strip of territory belonging to Bechuana Chiefs in Transvaal western border handed over to Chartered Company, and Dr. Jameson appointed Resident Commissioner.

Dec. 30 Rhodes-Jameson Raid into the Transvaal, starting from territory handed over by Colonial Office to Chartered Company on Oct. 18th.

1896

Jan. 1 Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, and 600 Raiders reach Krugersdorp and—after some fighting—surrender to the Boers.

Jan. 6 Mr. Rhodes resigns Premiership of Cape and is succeeded by Sir Gordon Sprigg. Mr. Rhodes then pays visit to England, interviews Mr. Chamberlain and returns to the Cape.

Jan. 11 Dr. Jameson is removed from his post of Administrator of Matabeleland, and shortly afterwards Mr. Rhodes ceases to be Managing Director of the Chartered Company.

1896

April 28 Four leaders of the Johannesburg revolutionary movement, George Farrar, Lionel Phillips, Francis Rhodes, and John Hays Hammond, plead guilty to high treason and are sentenced to death. Sentence is commuted to imprisonment and subsequently to fines. The natives in Matabeleland and Mashonaland rise against Chartered Company.

- May 12 Mr. Merriman moves, but fails to carry in Cape Parliament, resolution to place Chartered Company's territory under direct Imperial rule. A like resolution subsequently carried in the Raads of both the Boer Republics.
- May 27 Appointment of Cape Parliamentary Committee to enquire into Raid.
- July 17 Cape Raid Committee present report with concluding paragraph:—

  "Your committee cannot but express their deep regret that Mr. Rhodes was not present to give to the committee his own account of the proceedings on which they are instructed to report, the more so as they are reluctantly forced to the conclusion, upon the evidence before them, that the part taken by him in the organisation which led to the inroad headed by Dr. Jameson was not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony."
- July 20-28 Dr. Jameson and his subordinates are tried and convicted before the Lord Chief Justice (Russell of Killowen), Baron Pollock and Mr. Justice Hawkins for breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and sentenced, Jameson to 15 months, Willoughby 10, Robert White White 7, the rest 5, all without hard labour.
- Dec. 2 Remission of Dr. Jameson's sentence on ground of health, after four months and five days imprisonment.

1897

- Jan. 29 Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the Rhodes-Jameson Raid and the Administration of the Chartered Company's territory.
- Mar. Mr. Chamberlain raises objection to the Alien Expulsion Act passed by the Transvaal Volksraad in consequence of the Raid.
- Mar. 17 Defensive treaty concluded between the Boer Republics, of which the second clause was as follows:—
  "The South African Republic and the Orange Free State bind themselves to give each other mutual support with all the forces at their disposal, and by all possible means, in the event of the independence of one of them being menaced or attacked, unless the State which should provide the support can prove that the cause of the other is ill grounded." (Times, April 24th, 1897.)
- April 27 The following resolution passed with the approval of both sides, in the Cape Parliament:—
  "That this House being of opinion that the occurrence of

hostilities between the European Communities in South Africa would for many years to come prove disastrous to the best interests of the country . . . is of opinion that . . . by the adoption of a policy of moderation, mutual conciliation, and fairness in the discussion of or dealing with all difficulties, the tranquillity of South Africa would be further assured."

May 5 Sir Alfred Milner arrived at Cape Town as Governor and High Commissioner.

May 7 Despatch from Transvaal Government to British Government "to propose the principle of arbitration . . . with regard to all points touching the Convention" in issue between the two Governments, "and to propose that the President of the Swiss Bond State . . . be requested to point out a competent jurist" as arbitrator.

July 13 Publication of the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Rhodes-Jameson Raid, containing the following sentences:—

"Mr. Rhodes occupied a great position in South Africa. was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and, beyond all persons, should have been careful to abstain from such a course of action as that which he adopted. As Managing Director of the British South Africa Co., as Director of the De Beers Consolidated Mines and Gold Fields of South Africa, Mr. Rhodes controlled a great combination of interests. He used his position and those interests to promote and assist his policy. Whatever justification there might have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in Mr. Rhodes's position, in subsidising, organising, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the South African Republic, and employing the forces and resources of the Chartered Company to support such a revolution. He seriously embarrassed both the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and his proceedings resulted in the invasion of the territory of a State which was in friendly relations with Her Majesty, in breach of the obligation to respect the right to self-government of the South African Republic under the Conventions between Her Majesty and that State. Such a policy once embarked upon inevitably involved Mr. Rhodes in grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance. He deceived the High Commissioner representing the Imperial Government, he concealed his views from his colleagues in the Colonial Ministry and from the Board of the British South Africa Company, and led his subordinates to believe that his plans were approved by his superiors. Mr. Beit played a prominent part in the negotiations with the Reform Union. He contributed large sums of money to the revolutionary movement, and must share full responsibility for the consequences. . . . Finally, your committee desire to put on record an absolute and unqualified condemnation of the Raid and of the plans which made it possible. The result caused for the time being grave injury to British influence in South Africa. Public confidence was shaken, race feeling embittered, and serious difficulties were created with neighbouring States."-(Report to the House of Commons, p. xvi.)

July 26 Debate on the Report in the House of Commons. Mr. Chamberlain said:—

- July 26 "As to one thing I am perfectly convinced, and that is that there has been nothing proved, and that there exists nothing which affects Mr. Rhodes' personal character as a man of honour. So far as I am concerned, in considering the position of Mr. Rhodes, I dismiss absolutely these charges which affect against his personal honour."
- Aug. 23 On the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, Sir A.
  Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:—
  - "I have no doubt the same loyalty has been displayed in other parts of the Empire, but it appears to me to be of peculiar interest under the special circumstances of this Colony, and in view of recent events, which, as you are aware, have caused a feeling of considerable bitterness among different sections of the community. All that I can say is that, as far as I am able to judge, these racial differences have not affected the loyalty of any portion of the population to Her Majesty the Queen. People of all races—the English, the Dutch, the Asiatics, as well as the African natives—have vied with one another in demonstrations of affection for her person and devotion to the Throne. It is impossible to doubt that the feeling of loyalty among all sections of the population is much stronger than has sometimes been believed."
- Oct. 16 Mr. Chamberlain refuses the request of the Transvaal Government for arbitration and first raises the claim of a British suzerainty over the Transvaal, by alleging that the Preamble to the 1881 Convention is still alive. In a despatch to Sir A. Milner he says:—

"Her Majesty maintains the Preamble of the 1881 Convention." . . . "Under these two Conventions Her Majesty holds towards the South African Republic the relation of a suzerain who has accorded to the people of that Republic self-government upon certain conditions, and it would be incompatible with that position to submit to arbitration the construction of those conditions."

1898

- Feb. Mr. Kruger elected President for the fourth time. Votes: Kruger, 12,858; Schalk Burger, 3,753; Joubert, 2,001. Majority 7,104.
- April 21 Mr. Rhodes reinstated as Managing Director of the Chartered Company, Mr. Chamberlain refusing to interfere.
- May 4 Sir A. Milner forwards the reply of the Transvaal State Secretary to Mr. Chamberlain's despatch of October 6th, 1897. The State Secretary denies the claim of suzerainty, and cites in support of his denial the words of Lords Derby and Rosmead, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Sydney Buxton. Sir A. Milner observes: "I am unable myself to see anything very material in this controversy. Both parties agree that the Convention of 1884 determines their mutual relations."

- Sept. Defeat of Mr. Rhodes and the Progressive party at the General Election for Cape Parliament. Mr. Schreiner becomes Prime Minister, with two Englishmen and three Dutchmen as colleagues, and supported by the whole Dutch party.
- Nov.-Dec.Mr. Schreiner's Government pass an Act giving valuable facilities to the Imperial Naval Authorities in the harbour of Simon's Bay. They also vote an annual contribution of £30,000 to the Royal Navy (Section 2 of Act 20 of 1898 Cape Colony.)
- Dec. 15 Despatch of Mr. Chamberlain's reasserting the claim of suzerainity over the Transvaal. He wrote:—

"The Articles of the Convention of 1881 defined alike the general character of the internal independence and of the suzerainty. The Articles of the Convention of 1884 substituted a fresh definition for the former one. The Preamble of the Convention of 1881, the basis on which these definitions rested, remains unchanged."

Sir A. Milner visits England. Sir William Butler, as acting High Commissioner, makes a speech at Grahamstown urging that "what South Africa needs is rest and not a surgical operation."

1899

Jan. 24 The Cape Minister addressed the following Minute to the acting High Commissioner:—

"In the opinion of Ministers the persistent action of the political body styling itself the South African League in endeavouring to foment and excite, not to soothe and allay, ill-will between the two principal European races inhabiting South Africa is well illustrated by their resolutions, the exaggerated and aggravating terms of which disclose the spirit which informs and inspires them."

- Jan. 27 Sir W. Butler warns Mr. Chamberlain: "It is necessary to receive with caution, and even with a large amount of suspicion, statements emanating from the officers of the South African League."
- Feb. Sir Alfred Milner returns to the Cape.
- March I Despatch by Sir A. Milner alleging combined anti-British movement among Dutch. "I have the honour to transmit to you an extract from the Cape Times of the 22nd ult., with reference to the suggestion for a combined movement among the Dutch population of South Africa in favour of the South African Republic." The extract transmitted was an anonymous letter from a local paper, the Stellalander, published in the north of the Colony.

May 4 Sir A. Milner sends a long cablegram in which, after recounting the various Outlander grievances, he proceeds:-

"A certain section of the Press, not in the Transvaal only, preaches openly and constantly the doctrine of a Republic embracing all South Africa, and supports it by menacing references to the armaments of the Transyaal, its alliance with the Orange Free State, and the active sympathy which, in case of war, it would receive from a section of her Majesty's subjects. . . I can see nothing that will put a stop to this mischievous propaganda but some striking proof of the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa."

"The case for intervention is overwhelming. attempted answer is that things will right themselves if left alone. . . . The spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots . . . steadily undermine the influence and reputation of Great Britain."

Despatch of Mr Reitz asserting that "no Suzerainty exists," and that the Republic has "an inherent May 9 right of absolute self-government as a sovereign international State," subject to "certain specified rights guaranteed to Great Britain by the Convention of 1884." —(C. 9407, p. 32).

May 10 Mr. Chamberlain's despatch in reply to Sir Alfred Milner opens by saying that "Her Majesty's Government cannot remain indifferent to the complaints of British subjects in other countries, and if these are found to be justified. Her Majesty's Government are entitled to make representations with a view to securing redress," and recites the grievances of the Outlanders in respect of taxation, the dynamite monopoly, and other concessions. He complains that the law creating the municipality of Johannesburg is altogether inadequate, that enfranchisement is too long and difficult a process, that the oath required is offensive, that too much Dutch is taught in the State-aided schools, and that the administration of the liquor laws on the Rand is bad. He attacks the police, the administration of Justice, the press laws and the laws about alien Immigrants. contrasts the admirable conditions prevailing in the Orange Free State, declares that Great Britain as the "paramount" power must now intervene, having refrained from exerting pressure since the Raid; but, he declares, "Her Majesty's Government earnestly desire the prosperity of South Africa," and ends by suggesting that Sir Alfred Milner should meet President Kruger for the purpose of discussing the situation in a conciliatory spirit, and arriving at a settlement of difficulties.

May 17 Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:

"The question whether the present position of Her Majesty's Government towards the South African Republic is properly described as "suzerainty" is to my mind a question of the interpretation of a vague word. . . . The assertion that the South African Republic is a 'sovereign international State 'appears to me to be contradictory of the position consistently maintained by us, and in fact in the nature of a defiance of Her Majesty's Government"—(C. 9507, p. 30.)

May 18 Mr. Goschen, at the South African dinner given in the Whitehall Rooms:—

"When Mr. Schreiner, the present Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, proposed the vote of £30,000 a year as a contribution to naval expenditure, he uttered sentiments which must find an echo in the hearts of every lover of the community and the Empire. . . . The motion to grant £30,000 a year was carried unanimously. The Africanders were in power; the power had passed from Sir Gordon Sprigg; the Schreiner, the Bond party, were at the helm, but it made no difference, and let the country understand that."

May 20 Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Hofmeyr urge Sir A. Milner to accept President Steyn's invitation to a pacific Conference with President Kruger at Bloemfontein.

June I Sir Alfred Milner confers with President Kruger at Bloemfontein with a view to a settlement of the grievances of the Outlanders by franchise reforms. Both Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger put forward schemes of franchise reform. Sir Alfred Milner demanded five years' residence; President Kruger offered one of seven years. Each scheme was unacceptable to the other.

June 5 Failure of Conference.

Issue by the Intelligence Department of the War Office of "Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa," giving full details of the Boer artillery, its origin and manufacture, stating that before the Rhodes-Jameson Raid there were only some 13,000 rifles in the country, pointing out the mobility of the Boers, "whose hunting experience had taught them to get the utmost use out of their horses," and containing the warning that "there can be no question that if war ensues between the Transvaal and the Suzerain Power as a result of the differences made apparent at the Bloemfontein Conference (1899), the Free State, who has already declared by the mouth of her Raad that she entirely approves of President Kruger's proposals, will undoubtedly throw in her lot with the sister Republic."

June 5 It foretold the advance of the combined Boer forces against Ladysmith, and urged the taking of precautions against enteric fever among the troops.

June 10 Sir Alfred Milner to Mr. Chamberlain, about the Conference:—

"I insisted that I would not bargain for the franchise either with Arbitration or anything else,"

July 4 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. John Ellis: "Can the right hon, gentleman assure us that the House will receive any representations that may be made by the Cape Government and sent to Her Majesty's Government by the High Commissioner?"

Mr. Chamberlain: "I cannot give any such promise. All I can say is that we have received no such communication."

July 6 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. Chamberlain: "Yesterday I said, in reply to Sir J. Brunner, that the High Commissioner was in communication with the Cape Ministers, and in answer to a supplemental question from Mr. John Ellis I am reported to have said that we had not received any representations from the Cape Government. I intended by the two answers to convey that, while the High Commissioner was in communication with the Cape Government, and therefore, of course, aware of their views, no formal representations had been received by Her Majesty's Government. I have to-day heard from Sir A. Milner that Mr. Schreiner wishes it to be known that the Cape Ministry have made several representations through the High Commissioner, and had only abstained from addressing a formal Minute for communication to Her Majesty's Government because they were convinced that, independently of formal communication, their views were known to Her Majesty's Government."—(Blue Book C. 9415, p. 29.)

July 8 The Cape Premier communicated to the Press the following:—

"It is desirable to add for public information that the views of this Government have been fully and frequently represented to the High Commissioner in the varying phases of the situation. . . . It is well briefly to record the fact that, while anxious and continuously active, with good hope, in the cause of securing reasonable modifications of the existing representative system of the South African Republic, this Government is convinced that no ground whatever exists for active interference in the internal concerns of that Republic."

July 18 In the Cape Parliament Sir Gordon Sprigg (Leader of the Opposition), asked the Prime Minister whether it is the intention of the Government to submit to the House any notice having reference to the situation of affairs in the South African Republic?

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The Prime Minister (Mr. Schreiner): "Mr. Speaker, on April 26th, 1897, the House of Assembly adopted the following resolution: 'That this House being of opinion that the occurrence of hostilities between the European communities of South Africa would for many years to come prove disastrous to the best interests of the country; and earnestly desiring to secure peace and establish mutual confidence in and between the various South African States and Colonies, wishes to express a conviction that these objects can be best attained by a faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions, and agreements, and while adverse to the intervention by any foreign power in any dispute with Her Majesty's Government in regard to such obligations, is, nevertheless, of opinion that means should be devised to obtain an amicable settlement of any difficulties which may arise in the interpretation of these obligations, and that by the adoption of a policy of moderation, mutual conciliation, and fairness, in the discussions of or dealing with all difficulties the tranquillity of South Africa would be further assured.' The Government, of which my right hon. friend (Sir G. Sprigg) was the head, voted in support of that resolution, and I have no reason to suppose that the views of this House have undergone a change on this subject."

July 19 A new Franchise Law is passed by Volksraad giving a seven years' residential qualification and four seats to the Rand district.

July 20 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. Chamberlain: "I have no official information as to redistribution, but it has been stated that the Government of the South African Republic proposes to give seven new seats to the districts briefly inhabited by aliens. If this report is confirmed, this important change in the proposals of President Kruger, coupled with previous amendments, lead the Government to hope that the new law may prove a basis of settlement on the lines laid down by Sir A. Milner at Bloemfontein."

Telegram to Mr. Chamberlain:—

"Uitlander Council keenly disappointed *Times* announcement that seven years' franchise acceptable Imperial Government. Fear few will accept franchise on this condition."—(C. 9415, p. 53.)

July 24 Sir David Tennant (Speaker for twenty-four years in Cape Assembly), Agent-General for the Cape in London, speaks at dinner of London Chamber of Mines:—

"The loyalty of the Cape is a quantity perfectly assured.
. . . The Bond is perfectly loyal at heart; its only feeling is anxiety for a solution of the present difficulty with the Transvaal. . . . The little cables we see occasionally floating about are antagonistic to this view; but they are sent for party purposes and for financial objects. I extremely regret that those cables should influence to any extent the sensible people of England in forming an opinion adverse to the interests of the Colony as a whole."

- July 27 Mr. Chamberlain's despatch acknowledges new Franchise Law as improvement but reasserts the suzerainty, declaring Preamble of 1881 governs Convention of 1884, and refuses arbitration on this point.
- Iuly 28 The Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Selborne), in House of Lords:—

"Since the Bloemfontein Conference we have moved a long way. Successive proposals have been made to secure reforms, each of them, I am happy to say, an improvement on its predecessor. Although it is the misfortune of Her Majesty's Government not always to see eye to eye with their distinguished fellow-countrymen, Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Hofmeyr, or with Mr. Fischer of the Orange Free State, yet I should be wrong if I did not acknowledge the assistance they have rendered in bringing the present proposals of the South African Republic to the point at which they are."

- Aug. 1 Mr. Chamberlain makes a fresh proposal, that the parties should appoint delegates to inquire into and suggest improvement of the new franchise law (i.e., the Joint Inquiry).
- Aug. 19 President Kruger, after obtaining an assurance from Mr. Chamberlain that an alternative proposal would not be taken to imply a refusal of the Joint Inquiry, conceded the five years' residential qualification demanded by Sir Alfred Milner at the Bloemfontein Conference. He also offered eight new seats in the Volksraad, making ten for the Raad out of thirty-six in all, and in future not less than one-fourth of the total. He added that the Transvaal Government would always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the franchise law as Her Majesty's Government, through the British agent, might wish to convey to it. These terms were, however, made under the following express conditions:—
  - (a) That the British Government would agree that the present intervention should not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic should take place;
  - (b) That the British Government would not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being allowed tacitly to drop; and
  - (c) That arbitration, from which foreign element other than Orange Free State be excluded, should be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme had become law.
- Aug. 23 Sir A. Milner in a long despatch to Mr. Chamberlain: "although the effect of the successive changes introduced into their original plan has certainly been to make

Aug. 23 its conspicuous features—five years' residence as qualifying for franchise, and eight new seats for the Rand district—as liberal as anything I was prepared to suggest . . . With regard to other questions—not directly connected with the grievances of the Uitlanders—my strong conviction is that all of them, to which any real importance attaches, should be disposed of now so as to leave us with a clean slate."

Aug. 26 Mr. Chamberlain, at a Garden Party held at his house, at Highbury, near Birmingham, said:—

"Mr. Kruger procrastinates in his replies. He dribbles out reforms like water from a squeezed sponge, and he either accompanies his offers with conditions which he knows to be impossible, or he refuses to allow us to make a satisfactory investigation of the nature and character of these reforms.

. . . The issues of peace and war are in the hands of President Kruger and his admirers.

. . . Will he speak the necessary words?

. . . The sands are running down in the glass. The situation is too fraught with danger. It is too strained for any indefinite postponement. The knot must be loosened . . . or else we shall have to find other ways for untying it," etc.

Aug. 28 Mr. Chamberlain reasserts the British claim to suzerainty under the preamble to the Convention of 1881. Mr. Schreiner, the Premier, in the Cape Parliament:—
"We feel that war would be wrong... it would be an offence against civilisation."

Aug. 31 Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:

"The purport of all representations made to me is to urge prompt and decided action: not to deprecate further interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government." "British South Africa is prepared for extreme measures," "there will be a strong reaction against the policy of Her Majesty's Government if matters drag."

This despatch was published in South Africa in September.

Sept. 2 Secret Session of Raad. Transvaal Government regrets
Mr. Chamberlain's refusal of the Five Years' Franchise
with conditions, and reverts to the proposal of a Joint
Inquiry, accepting it in the following terms:—

"Assuming that it is not intended thereby to interfere in the internal affairs of this Republic, or to establish precedent, but simply to gain information and elucidation whether the measures already taken are effectual or not, and, if not, to show this Government where such is the case, this Government would be glad to learn from Her Majesty's Government how they propose that the Commission should be constituted, and what place and time for meeting is suggested."

Sept. 7 The State Secretary of the Transvaal asks for information "with reference to the alleged massing of troops round the borders of the Republic," to which the High Commissioner replies:—

"I do not know what the State Secretary refers to when he speaks of massing of troops. The British troops in South Africa are here to protect British interests and to provide against eventualities."

Sept. 7 Lord Loch, the late High Commissioner of South Africa, at a public dinner in London, said:—

"From personal experience I can say that the loyalty of the Dutch is beyond reproach."—(*Times*, September 8th.)

Sept. 8 Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:

"The South African Republic desire to add the following sentence to the tenth paragraph of their note of 2nd September: 'This Government being quite willing to enter such conference.'"—(C. 9350, p. 1.)

Decision to despatch 10,000 men to Natal, of whom 7,000 are to be furnished by India.

Mr. Chamberlain replies to the Transvaal despatch of September 2 that Her Majesty's Government are still prepared to accept the proposals of August 19 "taken by themselves" (i.e. without the three conditions) and ends:—

"If, however, as they most earnestly hope will not be the case, the reply of the South African Republic Government is negative or inconclusive, Her Majesty's Government must reserve to themselves the right to reconsider the situation de novo, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement."

Sept. 16 The State Secretary of the Transvaal expresses a hope that the British Government

"will declare itself satisfied to abide by its own proposal for a Joint Commission as first proposed by Secretary of State for Colonies in Imperial Parliament, and subsequently proposed to this Government and accepted by it."—(C. 9530, p. 13.)

Despatch from the Transvaal declining to allow their proposals of August 19 to be taken "by themselves," "omitting the conditions on the acceptance of which alone the offer was based."

Sept. 19 Sir A. Milner informs Mr. Steyn of intention to station British troops near the borders of the Orange Free State, and urges the Free State "to preserve strict neutrality."

Sept. 20 Mr. Steyn replies :-

"I cannot help impressing upon your Excellency the fact that if the proposed course be pursued, following as it will upon other military preparations near our border, it will not 189C

- Sept. 20 improbably be considered by our burghers as a menace to this State. . . . If unwished for developments should arise therefrom, the responsibility will not rest with this Government."
- Sept. 22 After Cabinet Meeting the mobilisation of an Army Corps for service in South Africa is announced.
- Sept. 27 The Orange Free State Volksraad declared that:-

"there exists no cause for war, and that if a war is now begun or occasioned by Her Majesty's Government against the South African Republic, this would morally be a war against the whole of the white population of South Africa, and would in its results be calamitous and criminal; and further, that the Orange Free State will honestly and faithfully observe its obligations towards the South African Republic arising out of the political alliance between the two Republics, whatever may happen."

President Steyn, communicating to Sir A. Milner the resolutions of his Volksraad, begins by reminding him that "the Free State Government is bound to the South African Republic by a solemn treaty, in which the Free State has undertaken to assist the Sister Republic, in the event of its independence being threatened or attacked," sends in his own name a long appeal for peaceful settlement, an assurance that both Republics desire peace, and a request,

"pending further negotiations, to stop any further movements or increase of troops on or near the borders of the

South African Republic and of this State."

- Sept. 28 It is announced that a large contingent of the Army Service Corps will be at once sent to South Africa.
- Sept. 30 Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:-

"Urgent. State Secretary . . . has asked me to send you the following message: 'State Secretary would be much obliged if he might be informed by Monday what decision, if any, the British Cabinet have taken."

- Oct. 1 Mr. Chamberlain to Sir A. Milner:-
  - "Urgent. The answer to State Secretary should be as follows: 'The despatch of Her Majesty's Government is being prepared; it will be some days before it is ready.'"
- \*\*Oct. 1 The Duke of Devonshire at New Mills, in Derbyshire, said:

  "The obstacle which seems to stand in the way of a peaceful settlement of our difficulties with the South African Republic appears to be in the rooted conviction they have that in the demands which we have made we cherish some designs hostile to their independence and self-government. That any such apprehensions on their part are absolutely unfounded has been asserted as strongly as it can be asserted both officially in our despatches and unofficially by members of the Government, and nothing which I can say can add to the force of those assertions."—(Times, October 2nd.)

Oct. 3 Stock Exchange quotations before and after outbreak of war:—

		Oct. 3.	Oct. 20.
Rand Mines	 	271	384
Goldfields	 	$\bar{5}^{\bar{1}}_{4}$	$7\frac{1}{3}$
Modders	 	7 5	10.
East Rand	 	4 ξ	$7\frac{1}{4}$
Chartereds	 	$2\frac{5}{16}$	$3\frac{1}{8}$

Oct. 4 Further exchange of telegrams between President Steyn and Sir A. Milner as to possibility of peaceful settlement. Steyn asks for

"an assurance by her Majesty's Government that all further despatch and increase of troops will at once and during negotiations be stopped, and that those on the water should either not be landed, or, at least, should remain as far removed as can be from the scene of possible hostilities."

Oct. 6 Mr. Chamberlain telegraphs Sir A. Milner to reply to President Steyn

"if the latter can obtain the needful assurance to safeguard against any act of invasion or hostility against any portion of Her Majesty's Colonies or territories pending negotiations of which he speaks, you will advise Her Majesty's Government to give an assurance in the same terms *mutatis mutandiv*. This will place both parties in exactly the same position. Each will be free to do what they like in their own territories, but neither will be able to trespass in the territories of the other."

- Oct. 7 Royal Proclamation summons Parliament for October 17, calls out a portion of First Class Reserve, followed immediately by orders to mobilise a Field Force for South Africa.
- Oct. 9 President Steyn telegraphs to Sir A. Milner expressing a hope that it was "not too late to rectify misunderstanding by mutual agreement to withdraw forces on both sides."

Presentation of Ultimatum by the South African Republic to British Agent at Pretoria.

- Oct. 11 Boers cross frontier at Laing's Nek.
- Oct. 14 Buller leaves to take command in South Africa.
- Oct. 19 In the House of Commons, Mr. Philip Stanhope moved as an amendment to the Address:

"But we humbly represent to your Majesty our strong disapproval of the conduct of the negotiations with the Government of the Transvaal which have involved us in hostilities."—(*Hansard*, Vol. 77, p. 254.)

Oct. 19 Sir Edward Clarke in the course of the debate said :-

"It is said in many newspapers that the Transvaal insisted on our disavowing and withdrawing our claim to suzerainty. It did nothing of the kind. The Transvaal stipulated that there should in future be no use of the word which had been abandoned in 1884, and that the controversy on the subject shall be allowed to drop. Now, I agree with the right hon. member for West Monmouth that there was good reason why the conditions attached to the five years' franchise proposed (made by the Boers) should have been accepted. The extraordinary incident that has marked the proceedings of this evening has been the statement of the Colonial Secretary that the answer to that proposal might have been taken as an acceptance . . . I should like to know—Was that answer intended as an acceptance?"

Mr. J. Chamberlain: "At that time we thought the proposal of the Transvaal extremely promising. We intended to send a most conciliatory answer, accepting, as far as it was humanly possible for us to do so, their proposal, and, as the only point of difference was the internal intervention, I thought myself it would be accepted."

Sir E. Clarke: "Then I take it that it was intended to be an acceptance of that proposal. Now, Mr. Speaker, if that were so, if, in fact, the Colonial Secretary intended to accept the proposals of the Transvaal, then undoubtedly this Amendment is proved up to the hilt. But I do not think that any one can read the despatch which was sent on September 8th, and

reconcile it with the statement which is now made."

Sir Edward Clarke, after quoting the despatch of Mr. Chamberlain on August 28th in reply to that proposal of August 19th:—

"If the despatch of August 28th had been misunderstood, and if the Transvaal Government ought to have taken it as an acceptance of their conditions, why was not that said?"

Mr. J. Chamberlain: "The hon. Member harps upon the word acceptance. He must remember he asked me the question whether we intend to accept. I, myself, should have thought that the Boers would have taken it as an acceptance, but I suppose it may be properly described as a qualified acceptance. We did not accept everything, but we accepted at least nine-tenths of the whole."

Sir E. Clarke: "Really, this becomes more and more sad. It is dreadful to think of a country of this kind entering upon a war, a crime against civilisation, when this sort of thing has been going on. Why, in the very next sentence, the right hon, gentleman says—'It is on this ground that Her Majesty's Government have been compelled to regard the last proposal of the Government of the South African Republic as unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented.'"

Mr. J. Chamberlain: "In the form."

Sir E. Clarke: "Is it a matter of form?"

Mr. J. Chamberlain: "Yes."

--(*Hansard*, Vol. 77, pp. 308-311.)

Oct. 19 Sir Edward Clarke:-

"Much has been said about the suzerainty. I said in the country, and I say here, that for any British Minister since 1884 to assert that we have a suzerainty over the Transvaal is not only a statement made in defiance of fact, but also is a breach of national faith."—(*Ibid*, p. 303.)

- Oct. 20 Supplementary sum of £10,000,000 voted by the House of Commons for "additional expenditure in consequence of the military situation in South Africa."—(Hansard, Vol. 77, p. 458.)
- Oct. 20 Action at Dundee or Talana Hill. General Penn Symonds killed. British retire on Ladysmith. All Dundee stores abandoned.
- Oct. 21 Eland's Laagte taken by British.
- Oct. 23 Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House Dinner:—
  "England, as a whole, would have no advantage from the possession of gold mines, except so far as our Government conferred the blessings of good government upon those who prosecuted that industry: for industry that is prosecuted successfully breeds commerce. . . . We seek no gold-fields. We seek no territory. What we desire is equal rights for all men of all races, and security for our fellow-subjects and for the Empire."
- Oct. 30 Investment of Ladysmith.
- Nov. 14 Meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company. Mr. John Hays Hammond, their engineer, estimates that on the conclusion of the war the company's profits will increase by a million a year: "With a good government there should be abundance of labour, and with abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages."—(See full report in Financial News of November 26.)
- Nov. 28 Action at Modder River.
- Nov. 29 Mr. Balfour at Dewsbury:—

  "If I had been asked two months ago whether it was likely we should be at war with the Orange Free State, I should have said, 'You might as well expect us to be at war with Switzerland.' . . . Never again shall we see the spectre of an English Colony being invaded."
- Dec. 10 Gatacre defeated at Stormberg.
- Dec. 11 Methuen defeated at Magersfontein (just north of Modder River).
- Dec. 15 Buller repulsed at Colenso. Lord Roberts ordered to take command of whole of our army in South Africa, with Kitchener as Chief of Staff.
- Dec. 19 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (at Aberdeen):—
  "I have thought it necessary that this, at least, should be made clear, that the Liberal Party accepts no responsibility

for the war and never acquiesced in the policy and proceedings which led to it. . . . It is interesting and significant to note the date on which this great development of the armed strength of the Transvaal began. . . . I have here some figures which I believe to be accurate, showing the expenditure of the Transvaal Republic through a number of years. I take the heading of military expenditure. In 1893 it was £19,000; I omit the smaller figures. In 1894 it was £28,000. In 1895 it was £87,000. In 1896 it was £495,000. . . . I take my stand upon these figures for military expenditure. In what year was it that there was a sudden leap from twenty or thirty thousand to nearly half a million? It was in the very year of the Jameson Raid!"

Jan. 8 Mr. Balfour (at Manchester) in reply to why British Government did not protest against Transvaal armaments:—

> "Our hands were tied and our mouths closed at that time by the Raid. How could we say to the Boer Government 'You must disarm, you have nothing to fear from us,' when three years ago an expedition composed of our countrymen had from British territory made an onslaught on the Boer Government?"

Jan. 10 Mr. Balfour at Manchester:

"The critics of the War Office have not really seen, or have not really insisted upon what is a novel and interesting fact of the war . . . the problem presented by the fact that for the first time, not only in our history, but in the military history of the modern world we have got to meet an enemy entirely mounted. . . Did any critic ever suggest it? I do not remember."

Jan. 23 Spion Kop taken but abandoned by Warren.

Feb. 2 Boer Presidents to Lord Roberts:-

"We learn from many sides that the British troops, contrary to the recognised usages of war, are guilty of the destruction by burning and blowing-up with dynamite of farmhouses, of the devastation of farms and the goods therein, whereby unprotected women and children are often deprived of food and cover. . . . We wish earnestly to protest against such acts."—(Cd. 582, p. 1.)

Lord Roberts to Boer Presidents:-

"I have seen such charges made before now in the Press, but in no case which has come under my notice have they been substantiated. The most stringent instructions have been issued to the British troops to respect private property, as far as is compatible with the conduct of military operations."—(Cd. 582, p. 1.)

Feb. 5 Further attempt by Buller to relieve Ladysmith unsuccessful.

Feb. 22 Buller crosses Tugela and attacks Boer rear-guard at Groblers' Kloof; is beaten off and recrosses river.

Feb. Lord Roberts' Proclamation to burghers of the Orange Free State:—

"I... warn all burghers to desist from further hostility... and I undertake that any of them who may so desist and who are found staying in their homes and quietly pursuing their ordinary occupations will not be made to suffer in person or property on account of their having taken up arms in obedience to the order of their Government. Orders have been issued by me prohibiting soldiers from entering private houses or molesting the civil population on any pretext whatever, and every precaution has been taken against injury to property on the part of any person belonging to, or connected with, the army."

Feb. 27 Cronje surrenders at Paardeberg.

Buller recrosses Tugela for fifth time, fights Pieters Hill, and Boer rear-guard retires.

Feb. 28 Cavalry under Dundonald enter Ladysmith.

March 5 Messrs. Kruger and Steyn telegraph to Lord Salisbury:—

". . . We consider it our duty solemnly to declare that this war was undertaken solely as a defensive measure for securing the threatened independence of the South Africa Republic, and is only continued in order to secure the incontestible independence of both Republics as sovereign international States, and to ensure that those of Her Majesty's subjects who have taken part with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatsoever in person or property. . . . If Her Majesty's Government is determined to destroy the independence of the Republics, there is nothing left to us and to our people but to persevere to the end in the course already begun, in spite of the overwhelming pre-eminence of the British Empire, confident that the God who lighted the unextinguishable fire of the love of freedom in the hearts of our fathers will not forsake us, but will accomplish His work in us and our descendants."

March 5 In the House of Commons, Sir M. Hicks Beach said:—
"It has been our duty to lay on the Table Estimates involving an expenditure of not less than £38,000,000 in the coming year for the war in South Africa."—(Hansard, Vol. 80, p. 55.)

March 11 Lord Salisbury replied to the Boer Presidents:—

". . . In view of the use to which the two Republics have put the position which was given to them, and the calamities which their unprovoked attack has inflicted upon Her Majesty's dominions, Her Majesty's Government can only answer your Honours' telegram by saying that they are not prepared to assent to the independence either of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State."—(Cd. 261, pp. 20-22.)

March 13 Bloemfontein occupied unopposed.

- March 15 Lord Roberts' third proclamation, offering to allow Free Staters who have not taken prominent part in policy or done violence to British subjects to return to their homes on taking oath to abstain from further participation in the War.
- March 15 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. W. Redmond, the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said:— "The United States Chargé d'Affaires on the 13th inst. communicated to Lord Salisbury the following telegram which he received from Mr. Hay: 'By way of friendly good offices you will inform the British Minister for Foreign Affairs that I am this day in receipt of a telegram from the United States Consul at Pretoria, reporting that the Governments of the two South African Republics request the President of the United States to intervene with a view to the cessation of hostilities, and that a similar request is made to representatives of European Powers. In communicating this request I am requested by the President of the United States to express his earnest hope that a way to bring about peace may be found, and to say that he would be glad to aid in any friendly manner to bring about so happy a result. Lord Salisbury requested Mr. White to convey to the United States Government the sincere acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for the friendly tone of the communication, but stated that Her Majesty's Government does not propose to accept the intervention of any Power in the South African War."
- March 31 Sannah's Post-loss of 200 (prisoners) and seven guns.
- April 30 Lord Salisbury's speech at the Hotel Cecil:—

"Nothing is more remarkable than the consensus with which various other nations—I don't speak of Governments, because their conduct has been uniformly correct—but the way in which other nations, and especially the gutter Press of other nations, have joined—even where we have no ground for believing that there was any antipathy or hatred before—have joined in denouncing our action and in traducing the bravery of our troops."

- May 24 Roberts crossed the Vaal. Annexation of the Orange Free State as the "Orange River Colony."
- May 31 Advance guard hoists British flag in Johannesburg.
- May 17 Mahan relieves Mafeking.
- May 31 Lord Roberts, by proclamation, places the Orange River Colony "as a temporary measure" under martial law. At the same time he promises non-combatants in Transvaal Republic personal safety, but threatens destruction or confiscation of property against all persons "who have permitted or who have not done their utmost to prevent" wanton damage to property. Residents to be held responsible "in their persons and their property" for damage done to railway or telegraph in the vicinity of their homes.

#### June 1 Proclamation by Lord Roberts: -

"I do hereby warn all inhabitants of the Orange River Colony who, after fourteen days from the date of this Proclamation, may be found in arms against Her Majesty within the said Colony, that they will be liable to be dealt with as rebels, and to suffer in person and property accordingly . . . and I further declare that any person who, after the expiration of 24 days, is found in possession of any unregistered firearms or ammunition, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding  $\pounds$  100, or to imprisonment not exceeding six months."—(Cd. 426, p. 8.)

Times leader (before official news of surrender of Pretoria) is as follows:—

"In all quarters at home and abroad it is admitted that the collapse of organised Boer resistance is now complete. The conclusion is doubtless correct. . . . We are not much alarmed at the prospects of the guerilla warfare in which our foreign friends seek a last support for their baffled hopes. . . . We are in the heart of the Transvaal, and our enemies have melted away and surrendered. . . . For whatever short period it [the South African struggle] may sputter on, we emerge from it stronger and greater, both morally and materially, than at any period of our recent history."

#### June 2 Buller to Roberts:—

"Meeting to-day between Commandant-General Chris. Botha and myself. He asked me what terms of peace you would offer. Can you let me know your terms of peace for individual and separate commandoes? . . . I think they are inclined to give in. . . . If you think it worth while, please let me know if I may mention any terms of peace to them."

#### Roberts to Buller:--

"My terms with the Transvaal Government are unconditional surrender."--(Cd. 458, p. 87.)

June 5 Pretoria entered by Roberts.

#### June 6 Proclamation by Lord Roberts:

"In the event of any burgher being granted a pass under paragraph 2 of the Proclamation of May 31st, he will be allowed to retain possession of his stock; or should any of his stock be required for the use of Her Majesty's troops, he will receive current market value for the same in cash.— (Cd. 426, p. 8.)

Resignation of Mr. Schriener's Ministry owing to Mr. Chamberlain's rejection of their amnesty policy in the Cape Colony.

#### June 12 Roberts to Botha :--

"I address these few lines in the hope that they may have the effect of inducing your Honour in the cause of humanity to refrain from further resistance. The British force under 1900 June 12

my command so greatly exceeds the Boer army in numbers that, although the war may be prolonged for a few weeks, there can be but one result."—(Cd. 461, p. 1.)

June 13 Sir Gordon Sprigg forms a new Cape Ministry.

June 13 Botha to Roberts:—

"For the purpose of arriving at a decision it is not only absolutely necessary for me to call a General Council of War of my officers and to consult them, but above all it is necessary for me to consider the subject with my Government. I trust for the sake of humanity your Excellency will give me the opportunity for such consideration and consultation. As some of my officers are near the Natal Border, and I am also a long way separate from my Government, this will require some time. I ask your Excellency kindly, therefore, for an armistice for six days, beginning from to-morrow morning at sunrise, during which no forward movement will be made on either side within the territory of the South African Republic."

—(Ibid.)

June 14 Roberts to Botha:-

"It is impossible for me to accede to your Honour's request that there should be an armistice for six days, during which no forward movement will be made on either side within the territory of the South African Republic. I am willing, however, to refrain from further movements in the district to the east of Eland's River Railway Station, our present most advanced post in that direction, and also in the district north of the Volkrust and Johannesburg Railway for a period of five days."—(Cd. 461, p. 3.)

June 15 Botha to Roberts:-

"In answer to your letter dated 14th June just received by me, wherein your Excellency consents to an armistice for five days, but with the reservation of the right to your Excellency to move your army in all directions within the South African Republic except east of the Eland's River Station and north of the Volkrust-Johannesburg Railway line, I must, to my great regret, inform your Excellency that this reservation makes it impossible for me to accept this armistice which I have so much desired."—(Ibid.)

June 16 Lord Roberts issues Proclamation XIX., containing following:—

"The houses in the vicinity of the place where the damage is done will be burnt and the principal civil residents will be made prisoners of war."—(Cd. 426, p. 16. 1900.)

June 19 Proclamation XX. of Lord Roberts.

"As a further precautionary measure the Director of Military Railways has been authorised to order that one or more of the residents, who will be selected by him from each district, shall from time to time personally accompany the trains while travelling through their district."

(This clause was repealed on July 27th.)

June 19 "In addition to the payment of the damage done in their district, a penalty . . . which will be in no event less than 2s. 6d. per morgen on the area of each farm, will be levied and recovered from each burgher of the district . . . in respect of the land occupied by him. Furthermore, all receipts for goods requisitioned in such district on behalf of the military authorities will be cancelled, and no payment whatsoever will be made in respect of the same."

July 20 Cape Parliament met.

June 23 From the Diamond Fields Advertiser, published at Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, Dr. Jameson, speaking on his election to the Cape Parliament, said:—

"You must remember that at the time (of the Raid) the Transvaal was not the armed Transvaal of to-day. Apart from the rifles of the individual burghers, the whole armoury of the Transvaal was contained in the so-called Pretoria fort, guarded by, I think, three States Artillery men, and its sole protection was a broken down corrugated wire fence."

July 4 General Louis Botha to Lord Roberts:—

"To my regret I must again approach your Excellency with reference to the wanton destruction or damaging of private properties, and also the inhuman treatment and even assaults on helpless women and children by Her Majesty's troops in the South African Republic. Complaints are repeatedly reaching me that private dwellings are plundered, and in some cases totally destroyed, and all provisions taken from women and children, so that they are compelled to wander about without food or covering."—(Cd. 582, p. 6.)

July 10 General De Wet to Lord Roberts:—

"It is with a feeling of great indignation that I have from day to day noticed the reckless devastation of property in this State by the troops under your Excellency's command. Houses and other property are, under all manner of excuses, destroyed and burnt, and defenceless women and children are treated with scorn, and driven on foot out of the houses to seek accommodation under the bare heavens."—(Cd. 582, p. 6.)

July 28 Lord Roberts to General Botha :—

"In reply to your letter of July 4th . . . . 1 have not yet received replies from the General Officer Commanding Standerton, as to the alleged destruction of buildings on your Honour's and the adjoining farm. I hope the reports may prove unfounded, as I have given most stringent orders that, except in certain cases where railway or telegraph line has been cut, or our troops fired upon from farms, homesteads are not to be destroyed."—(Cd. 582, p. 7.)

July 31 In the House of Commons Sir M. Hicks-Beach said:—
"The War Office estimate the total expenditure up to date on
the South African War at about £42,000.000, exclusive of
interest on war debt."—(Hansard, Vol. 87, p. 163.)

#### Aug. 3 Lord Roberts to General De Wet :-

"Latterly many of my soldiers have been shot from farm-houses over which the white flag has been flying, the railway and telegraph lines have been cut, and trains wrecked. I have, therefore, found it necessary, after warning your Honour, to take such steps as are sanctioned by the customs of war to put an end to these and similar acts, and have burned down the farmhouses at or near which such deeds have been perpetrated. This I shall continue to do whenever I consider the occasion demands it."—(Cd. 582, p. 8.)

#### Aug. 5 Lord Roberts to General Botha:—

"In reply to your letter of July 4th I enclose an extract of Sir Redvers Buller's letter giving his reasons for burning the farms . . . in the Standerton district. While I am most averse to causing any unnecessary suffering to your burghers, and still more so to inflict it on women and children, I have no option if your men use homesteads as bases from which to carry on raids against the line of railway, or as cover from which to fire upon patrols or small parties."—(Cd. 582, p. 8.)

#### Aug. 15 General Botha to Lord Roberts:—

"In reference to the report of Sir R. Buller enclosed in your Excellency's letter, I emphatically deny that bodies of our burghers hide themselves or have hidden themselves at the houses mentioned."—(Cd. 582, p. 10.)

#### Aug. 14 Lord Roberts issues following:—

XXVI

No. 12 of 1900.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Inhabitants of the South African Republic.

Whereas by Proclamation No. 1 of 1900, burghers who had not taken a prominent part in the hostilities were allowed, upon taking an oath, to return to their homes, and were not dealt with as prisoners of war, and

Whereas by Proclamation No. 2 of 1900 (issued on March 15), burghers to whom passes and permits have been granted might retain their stock or take them to the winter veldt, and Whereas many burghers have taken the said oath, but have, notwithstanding this oath, taken up arms against the forces of Her Majesty the Queen, and

Whereas many burghers who have taken the said oath have aided and abetted the enemy in raiding trains and destroying property belonging to the Forces of Her Majesty the Queen, or have acted as spies for the enemy, and

Whereas the Government of the South African Republic considers such oath immoral, and has issued a notice warning all burghers against taking the said oath, and

Whereas it is manifest that the leniency which has been extended to the burghers of the South African Republic is not appreciated by them, but on the contrary, is being used as a cloak to continue the resistance against the Forces of Her Majesty the Queen, and

Aug. 14 Whereas there are no means of distinguishing the combatant from the non-combatant portion of the population:

Now, therefore, 1, Frederick Sleigh, Baron Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.L.E., V.C., Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa, do hereby proclaim and make known as follows:—

- 1 and 2. Sections 1 and 2 of the first and third Proclamations (issued in February and March 15th) repealed.
- That all such persons who have taken the said oath, and who have in any way broken such oath, will be punished with either death, imprisonment, or fine.
- 4. That all burghers in the districts occupied by Her Majesty's Forces, except such as have already taken the said oath, shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and shall be transported or otherwise dealt with as I may determine.
- 5. That all buildings and structures on farms on which the scouts or other forces of the enemy are harboured will be liable to be razed to the ground.
- 6. That the fine mentioned in Proclamation No. 6 of 1900, Section 2, shall be rigorously exacted where any damage is done to the railway, and persons are hereby warned to acquaint Her Majesty's Forces with the presence of the enemy upon their farms, and, failing to do so, they will be regarded as aiding and abetting the enemy.

#### God Save the Queen.

Given under my hand and seal, at Pretoria, this 14th day of August, 1900.

ROBERTS, Field-Marshal, Commander-in-Chief, South Africa.

With reference to paragraph 6, the fine therein mentioned shall in no event be less than a sum of 2s. 6d. per morgen on the area of each farm.

Sept. 1 Proclamation issued by Lord Roberts annexing the South African Republic and placing it under martial iaw.

Proclamation by Lord Roberts to the Free State people :-

- All persons . . . except those burghers . . . have, in consequence of annexation . . . become the subjects of Her Majesty.
- 2. If any burghers of the Orange Free State be found in arms against Her Majesty, the burden of proving that they were attached to some commando prior to the annexation, and that they have continuously since then been in arms against Her Majesty, will rest upon such burghers.

1900 Sept. 1.

- 3. Those burghers . . . shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and be transported or otherwise dealt with.
- Those burghers who have taken the so-called oath of neutrality or submission and broken such oath, shall be punished with death, imprisonment, or fine.

5 and 6. As in the Proclamation of August 14 (Supra).

#### Sept. 2 Lord Roberts to General Botha:—

"The orders I have at present issued . . . are that the farm nearest the scene of any attempt to injure the line or wreck a train is to be burnt, and that all farms within a radius of ten miles are to be completely cleared of all their stock, supplies, etc."—(Cd. 582, p. 11.)

#### Sept. 5 General Botha to Lord Roberts:-

"We are already aware that barbarous acts of the same nature are committed by troops under your Excellency's chief command, and not only along or near the railway, and where your Excellency's troops move; not only are houses burnt down or blown up by dynamite, but defenceless women and children are turned out of them, and robbed of all food and covering, without there being any reason for such action."—(Cd. 582, p. 12.)

Sept. 11 President Kruger and Mr. Reitz cross the Portuguese frontier, and proceed to Lorenzo Marquez.

#### Sept. 14 Roberts proclaims:—

"Except in the small area occupied by the Boer army under the personal command of General Botha, the war is degenerating, and has degenerated, into operations carried on in an irregular and irresponsible manner by small, and in very many cases insignificent bodies of men. I should be failing in my duty to Her Majesty's Government and to Her Majesty's Army in South Africa if I neglected to use every means in my power to bring such irregular warfare to an early conclusion. The means which I am compelled to adopt are those which the customs of war prescribe as being applicable to such cases. They are ruinous to the country, and entail endless suffering on the burghers and their families, and the longer this guerilla warfare continues the more vigorously must they be enforced."—(Cd. 426, p. 18.)

### Sept. 18 Dissolution of Parliament followed by General Election. Cabinet Ministers said:—

- "The war now happily drawing to a close,"—Mr. Balfour (Manchester).
- "Under the skilful leadership of Lord Roberts all difficulties have been overcome."—Mr. Chamberlain (Birmingham).
- "In South Africa, so far as organised resistance is concerned, the war has been brought to a successful conclusion."—Sir M. Hicks-Beach (Bristol).

Sept. 18. "Organised warfare is practically over."—Lord George Hamilton (Ealing).

"It is for the electors to say whether that settlement should be in the hands of those who have carried this war to a successful termination."—Mr. Ritchie (Croydon).

- Sept. 22 Proclamation. Burghers who surrender voluntarily will not be deported. Camps to be formed for them at Pretoria and Bloemfontein.
- Oct. 8 Mr. Chamberlain, at Cannock Chase Colliery, Chase Town:—

  "If it were really true that I was responsible for the war, I should say it was a feather in my cap."—(Times, October 9th.)
- Oct. 13 Cape Parliament rose.
- Oct. 17 General Botha to Lord Roberts:-

"I regret to note that the barbarous actions of your Excellency's troops, such as the blowing up and destruction of private dwellings, and the removal of all food from the families of the fighting burghers, against which I have already been obliged to protest, have not only met with your Excellency's approval, but are done on your Excellency's special instructions. This spirit of revenge against burghers who are merely doing their duty according to law may be regarded as civilised warfare by your Excellency, but certainly not by me."—(Cd. 582, p. 13.)

Oct. 22 Lord Roberts to General Botha:—

"With regard to the remark of your Honour as to the state of organisation which exists among the burgher forces at the present moment, I am compelled to point out to your Honour that their tactics are not those usually associated with organised forces, but have degenerated into a guerilla warfare which I shall be compelled to repress by those exceptional methods which civilised nations have at all times found it obligatory to use under like circumstances."—(Cd. 582, p. 13.)

- Oct. 24 Mr. Schreiner compelled to resign his seat in Cape Parliament owing to disagreement with his constituents on amnesty question.
- Oct. 25-27 A running fight with De Wet on Vaal which is a severe check for him. He loses two guns and at least 100 prisoners.
- $N_{\theta v}$ . 5 Second defeat of De Wet.
- Nov. 10 Return of Gen. Buller to England.
- Nov. 18 About half a company of "Buffs" (an outpost) cut up and captured near Balmoral, thus cutting Delagoa Railway. Lord Roberts issues the following order:—
  "As there appears to be some misunderstanding with regard to the burning of farms and breaking of dams, the Commander-in-Chief wishes the following to be the lines on which

Nov. 18 the General Officers Commanding are to act:—No farm is to be burnt except for acts of treachery or when troops have been fired upon from the premises, or as a punishment for the breaking of telegraph or railway lines, or when they have been used as bases of operations for Raids, and then only with the direct consent of the General Officer Commanding, to be given in writing. The mere fact of a burgher being absent on commando is on no account to be used as a reason for burning the house. All cattles, wagons, and foodstuffs are to be removed from all farms. If that is impossible, they are to be destroyed, whether the owner be present or not."

Nov. 22 Arrival of President Kruger in France.

General Buller, speaking at Exeter, said :-

"No doubt the war is coming now to a crisis which may induce more severe treatment, but why is that so? You are told in the papers that the Boers are patriots fighting for their country, but the whole of the people we have known as Boers have either surrendered or are prisoners, or are doing their level best to surrender now, if only we give them protection. The people left in the field are either mercenaries or banditti. There was really no patriotic Boer in the field when I left South Africa."—(Times, November 23rd.)

Nov. 23 De Wet in his march South captures garrison of more than 400 men at Dewetsdorp after a five days' siege. Two guns taken—recaptured later.

Nov. 26 Lord Roberts, at Johannesburg, telegraphs:

"The police have been aware for some time that a plot (against me) was in existence, and arrested five Italians, four Greeks and one Frenchman on Nov. 16, who are now awaiting trial. Their intention was to explode a mine in St. Mary's Church at 11 o'clock service on November 18."

Nov. 30 Kitchener succeeds Roberts as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.

CAPE COLONY. IMPORTS. EXPORTS. For year ending Nov. 30th, 1899  $\pounds$ 18,144,665  $\pounds$ 22,897,993  $\pounds$ 7,274,965

Dec. 1 The Hon. J. W. Sauer, the late Commissioner of Public Works in Mr. Schreiner's Cabinet, speaking near Cape Town, said:—

"We have a Governor who, shortly after he came here, put himself at the head of one of the political parties and became an extreme partisan. Heretofore Governors have stood above party, and have been anxious to conciliate any difficulties between the white races and the Europeans and Natives, and to bring together all Her Majesty's subjects. But now we have a Governor who practically joined a political organisation, which is animated by hatred of the Dutch people of this country. . . . All that is left us now is the hope that people are beginning to recognise with regard to the Governor and High Commissioner that, so long as he is

- Dec. 1 here, there can be no rest or confidence, and that he should be removed from the position he occupies."—(South African News, Dec. 2nd.)
- Dec. 3 A Reuter's telegram announced:—

"The eleven men who were arrested in Johannesburg on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to assassinate Lord Roberts will merely be deported, the evidence being insufficient to warrant a trial."

- Dec. 5 De Wet in his march South crosses the Caledon.
- Dec. 6 Congress at Worcester in Cape Colony attended by over 10,000 colonists to protest against farm-burning and imprisoning of women and children, and extinguishing the independence of the Boer Republics, and "to express grave disapproval of the policy pursued and the attitude adopted in this matter by Sir A. Milner."
- Dec. 7 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. J. Chamberlain: "Hon. gentlemen have, I think, recently suggested that these intentions of ours, both with regard to the immediate pacification of the country, and the terms that might be opposed to those now in the field against us, and also with regard to the character of the future government of the country, should be promulgated among the Boers. I entirely agree. I may inform the House that I have already communicated with Sir A. Milner suggesting a form of proclamation and asking his opinion about it."—(Hansard, Vol. 88, p. 262.)

Protest from the Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony against the policy and methods of the war, presented to Sir A. Milner to be laid before the Queen. It said:—

"The longer we dwell upon the course of events the deeper becomes our conviction that annexation will never secure peace. In both the belligerent States, men and women have shown for the last sixty years that they were ready to sacrifice everything, and even to lay down their lives for their liberty."—(Cd. 547, p. 19).

- Dec. 10 Lord Roberts, speaking at Capetown, said :-
  - "The war, thank God, is now practically over. . . . The war has now come virtually to an end, and my work is finished."—(*Times*, December 12th.)
- Dec. 11 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Harwood:—
  Mr. Chamberlain: "I certainly propose to make it plain (in the document promulgating the terms of settlement with the Boers) that as soon as circumstances allow there will be extended to the population of those Colonies similar conditions of self-government to those prevailing in the other South African colonies, or in such other manner as may appear best."— (Hansard, Vol. 88, p. 489.)

- Dec. 12 Supplementary vote of £16,000,000 "for additional expenditure due to the war in South Africa and affairs in China."—(Hansard, 88, p. 612.)
- Dec. 13 Defeat of General Clements' force at Nooitgedacht in the Magaliesberg by Generals de la Rey and Beyers, resulting in the loss of the camp and the capture of four companies of the Northumberland Fusiliers.
  - Lord Kitchener applies to the War Office for reinforcements.
- Dec. 16 Hertzog with 1,200 men and Kritzinger with 700 men cross Orange and enter Cape Colony.
- Dec. 18 Lord Roberts leaves for England. Sir A. Milner becomes Administrator of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson appointed Governor of the Cape Colony.
- Dec. 20 Twelve fresh districts of the Cape Colony placed under Martial Law.
- Dec. 21 Lord Kitchener, at Pretoria, addresses surrendered Burghers' Committee, and promises
  - "An enlightened and progressive Government in Transvaal and Orange River Colony in which burghers would have such a prominent share as would ensure to themselves and their children all their rights, their ancient laws and customs," and added that if the conciliatory methods now adopted failed, he had other methods which he would be obliged to exercise.
  - "Instructions had been issued to form laagers for all surrendered burghers, their wives, families and stock. . . . It was essential that the country should be thus cleared, because, so long as the means of subsistence remained in and on the farms, so long small commandoes were enabled to continue in the field."—(Cd. 547, p. 52.)
- Dec. 29 Garrison of Helvetia (about 250) holding Lydenburg Road surrender and lose 4.7 gun—first naval gun lost in the war. Enteric casualties this month are 460.
- Dec. 31 Cape Ministers appeal to Colonists to join "Colonial Defence Force" to repel invasion.—(Cd. 547, p. 30.)

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- Jan. 7 Arrest at Capetown of Mr. Malan, barrister-at-law, member of the Cape Parliament, and editor of the Dutch paper Ons Land, on a charge of seditious libel.
- Jan. 14 Proclamation reported to have been issued by De Wet and Steyn containing the following:—
  - "The enemy wishes to inform the world that the Republics are conquered, and the war ended, and that only here and there small plundering bands are to be found. . . . It is an untruth. The Republics are not yet conquered. The war is not finished. The burgher forces of the two Republics are still led by responsible leaders, as from the commencement of

- the war, under the supervision of the Governments of both Republics. . . . The burghers would be less than men if they allowed the enemy to go unpunished after ill-treating their wives and destroying their houses from sheer lust of destruction. Therefore a portion of our burghers have again been sent into Cape Colony, not only to wage war, but to be in a position to make reprisals as they have already done in the case of ambulances . . . but at the same time, to avoid being misunderstood, we hereby openly declare that the women and children will always remain unmolested, despite anything done to ours by H.M.'s troops."
- Jan. 17 Martial law proclaimed throughout Cape Colony except districts of Cape, Simonstown, Wynburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Native Territories.—(Cd. 547, p. 29.)
- Jan. 29 Kitchener to Milner:—

  "I have let it be known that I should be glad to meet Botha at any time. . . . Ex-President Pretorius has gone out to see him."
- Jan. 30 Kitchener to Milner:—
  "Ex-President Pretorius has just returned from seeing Botha and Schalk Burger. They stated that they were fighting for their independence, and meant to continue to do so to the bitter end."—(Cd. 547, p. 35.)
- Jan. 31 Boers under Smuts surrounded and overwhelmed British force of 362 men at Modderfontein.—(Cd. 522, p. 11.)
- Feb. 6 Smith Dorrien beats off severe attack by 2,000 Boers at Lake Chrissie, New Carolina. He lost 23 killed and 52 wounded.
  - Sir A. Milner to Mr. Chamberlain:-
    - "It is no use denying that the last half-year has been one of retrogression. Seven months ago the Colony was perfectly quiet, at least as far as the Orange River. The southern half of the Orange River Colony was rapidly settling down, and even a considerable portion of the Transvaal. . . . To-day the scene is completely altered. . . . What is more serious to my mind than the mere material destruction of the last six months is the moral effect of the recrudescence of the war."
- Feb. 7 Arrest of Mr. Albert Cartwright, editor of the South African News, at Cape Town, on a charge of seditious libel in having reprinted from the British Press a letter charging Lord Kitchener with having ordered the shooting of burghers under De Wet who surrendered to the British.
- Feb. 10 De Wet, with about 2,000 men, crossed Orange River into Cape Colony. . . After being joined by Hertzog's men, he re-crossed some days later into the Orange Free State.

Feb. 13 Botha to Kitchener:

"With reference to the verbal message received by me from your Excellency, I have the honor to inform your Excellency that no one desires more than I to bring this bloody strife to an end, and also that I would very much like to meet your Excellency for the purpose of mutual discussion to see if it is not possible to discover terms under which this can be done."—(Cd. 546.)

Feb. 18 In the House of Commons, in reply to Sir W. Foster:—

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick): "The total number of cases of typhoid fever from the beginning of the war to December, 1900, is 19,101, and of deaths 4,233. The number of officers and men invalided for enteric fever who have arrived in England from the beginning of the war to December, 1900, is 10,975."

Feb. 19 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. Brodrick: "By the end of March we expect to be able to put at Lord Kitchener's disposal something like 30,000 men."—(Hansard, Vol. 89, p. 519.)

Mr. Trevelyan: "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies how soon it is his intention to issue the proclamation in English, Dutch and the Taal language announcing the intentions of the British Government as to the immediate civil administration of the new South African Colonies, and the promise of Colonial self-government at the earliest opportunity, as he engaged to do in his speech in debate on 7th December last and in answer to a question by the member for Bolton on 11th December?"

The Secretary of State (Mr. J. Chamberlain): "I have felt obliged to defer to the opinion of both Lord Kitchener and Sir A. Milner that during the last few weeks the time was not opportune, but I have asked Sir A. Milner to inform me at once as soon as such action is advisable."—(Hansard, Vol. 89, p. 466.)

Feb. 25 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis :-

Mr. Brodrick: "The numbers and situations of the camps of refuge or the numbers of protected persons in each and the nature of the shelter provided have not been reported, but it is believed that about 15,000 are so accomodated. The arrangements for the supply of the provisions have been in the hands of the local military authorities, but are being gradually transferred to civil contract. The husbands and sons of deserted women who desire to live peacefully can freely join them in their laagers, and arrangements have been made to distribute to them any gifts sent by others. The protected persons are not prisoners of war.

Mr. Dillon: "Are they free to leave the laagers, or are they guarded by sentries with bayonets?

Mr. Brodrick: "They come to these laagers for protection.
Mr. John Ellis: "Will the right hon, gentleman assure us

that no persons are inside these camps who have not come there for protection, that they have not been driven there?

- Feò. 25 Mr. Brodrick: "I have given the House all the information I can. These camps are voluntary camps formed for protection. Those who come may go."—(Hansard, Vol. 89, p. 1021).
- Feb. 26 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. John Ellis: "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the women and children confined in camps are placed on full rations if they voluntarily surrender, but on reduced rations if the husbands and fathers do not surrender. The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick): "I am in communication with Lord Kitchener on this subject. The difficulty of feeding the very large number of persons who were coming into these camps is very great, and I understand that a distinction has been drawn between those who have surrendered with their fathers and husbands and those who come in to be fed while their relations are still in the field."—(Hansard, Vol. 39, p. 1180.)

- Feb. 27 Order sent that no distinction should be made in future in quantity of rations given to Boer women and children, whether their male relatives were fighting or not.
- Feb. 28 Meeting at Middelburg between Kitchener and Botha to discuss negotiations for peace. Botha asks for independence, which Kitchener refuses to discuss, but offers Crown Colony Government with nominated Executive to be assisted by elected Assembly.
- March I In the House of Commons:—

Mr. John Ellis: "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there has been any revocation of the policy of placing the women and children confined in the concentration camps in South Africa, whose husbands and fathers are in the field, on reduced rations, or is that policy still being carried out?

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick): "I think that the great majority of women and children have gone into the camps by their own desire. Their motives I am not responsible for. I have not yet received full information, but Lord Kitchener has informed me that a sufficient allowance is being given to all families in camp, and that they are satisfied and comfortable."—(Hansard, Vol. 90, p. 180.)

- Mar. 2 Sir A. Milner left Cape Town for the Transvaal.
- Mar. 3 Kitchener proposes to offer by letter to Botha complete amnesty to all who have taken part in war, qualified by disfranchisement for Colonial rebels, return of prisoners, civil administration, consisting of Governor, nominated Executive, and advisory Assembly, followed by representative Government "as soon as circumstances permit," equal rights for English and Dutch languages, payment of bonâ fide legal debts of State not exceeding

£,1,000,000, assistance to farmers whose property has Mar. 3 been destroyed, and right to carry rifles by licence and registration; no franchise for Kaffirs. Milner deprecates the amnesty of Cape rebels; other-

wise approves Kitchener's proposals.

- Mar. 6 Chamberlain repudiates Kitchener's proposals in important particulars of amnesty of Cape rebels, elective element in Government, payment of State debts, and assistance to Boer farmers.
- Mar. 7 Kitchener sends terms as altered by Chamberlain to Botha.
- Mar. 8 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis as to the condition of the Boer women and children in camps :-Mr. Brodrick: "I am afraid I have no information to add to

that which I have already given to the hon, member, I do not think the hon, member need be under any anxiety about these people. Lord Kitchener telegraphed to me that he himself has gone into the question, and finds that the people in the laagers are all contented and comfortable, and we must rely on his assurance."—(Hansard, Vol. 90, p. 1027.)

Mar. 13 Mrs. Maxwell, the wife of Major-General Maxwell, the Military Governor of Pretoria, addressed to the editor of the New York Herald an appeal containing the following sentences:

"Military Governor's Office, Pretoria. "I am raising a fund for the purpose of providing warm clothing for the Boer women and children in the refuge camps in South Africa, many of whom are totally destitute and unable to provide against the cold weather which is now setting in. It is in the name of the little children, who are now living in open tents without fires, and possessing only the scantiest of clothes, that I ask for help. There are something over twenty-two thousand refugees in these camps in the Transvaal alone, all of which are under my husband's (Major-General Maxwell) care. Though I have done what I could for them locally, the question is too large a one to be carried out without outside assistance. . . . Even if peace should be proclaimed sooner than we hope, it will hardly alter the condition of many of these women, whose husbands have been killed and their homes destroyed by the cruel experiences of war. . . . I would be most deeply indebted to any American papers that would kindly copy this letter, so that my appeal may reach all those who have pity on little suffering children."

Mar. 16 Botha replied to Kitchener:—

"I have advised my Government of your Excellency's letter, but, after the mutual exchange of views at our interview at Middleburg on February 28th last, it certainly will not surprise you to know that I do not feel disposed to recommend

- Mar. 16 that the terms of the letter shall have the earnest consideration of my Government. I may add that my Government and chief officers have entirely agreed to my views."—(Cd. 528, p. 7).
- Mar. 23 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Chamberlain said:—

"The only information which we have besides what has already been published was contained in a private telegram of Lord Kitchener, in which he stated that, in addition to the other matters which appeared on the papers, Commandant Botha had taken objection to Sir A. Milner."—(Hansard, Vol. 91, p. 991.)

- Mar. 28 In the House of Commons:—

  Sir Robert Reid: "I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the Government will propose to the House that Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer be heard upon the policy of the settlement in South Africa, pursuant to their petition?"

  The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour): "The Government do not think that the course which the hon, and learned member suggests would be a proper one."—

  (Hansard, Vol. 92, p. 44).
- April 3 Sir A. Milner applies for and is granted three months' holiday.
- April 17 Trial and conviction for seditious libel of Mr. Malan, editor of Ons Land. Sentence: twelve months' imprisonment without hard labour.
- April 18 In the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks-Beach):—

"I have been often charged with under-estimating the cost of the war . . . Therefore I shall ask the House to give me borrowing powers to the extent of £62,000,000 . . . . Let me just make a statement to the Committee as to what, so far the estimated cost of this war has been. In 1899-1900 the estimates were £23,217,000. Last year they were £68,620,000. This year's estimates amount to £60,230,000, including in each case the interest on the sums borrowed. That amounts to over £152,000,000."—(Hansard, Vol. 92, pp. 647-650)

- April 18 Trial and conviction, at Cape Town, of Mr. Albert Cartwright, editor of the South African News, for a criminal libel on Lord Kitchener. Sentence: twelve months' imprisonment without hard labour.
- April 22 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis as to the number of camps and refugees in South Africa:—

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick): "It is not possible within the limits of a reply to a question to give all the detailed information required, and such information as has reached me is confined to the Transvaal. These camps

April 22 and number of refugees, so far as we are aware, are as follows: Barberton, 703; Heidelberg, 1,307; Irene, 1,497; Johannesburg, 5,487; Klerksdorp, 456; Middelburg, 977; Potchefstroom, 5,373, Standerton, 1,342; Vereeniging, 661; Volksrust, 2,068; Mafeking, 800—20,671. There are also 434 self-supporting refugees. The nature of the shelter varies according to the locality, solid buildings being used where possible. All refugees were placed on the same scale of rations on February 27th. Every provision has been made for medical attendance, and the education of the children is being conducted in sheds or marquees, according to the accommodation. Sir A. Milner is giving his personal attention to improving the conditions of life in these camps. Records of births and deaths are preserved, and I have tele-

graphed for figures."—(Hansard, Vol. 92, p. 895.)

In reply to a further question by Mr. John Ellis as to an appeal made by the wife of the Military Governor of Pretoria to the American public for funds to help the Boer women and children in the camps:—

Mr. Brodrick: "I am aware that the Governor of Pretoria has opened a subscription list for funds to supplement the issues made to the Boer prisoners. . . . As regards the camps in the Transvaal, I am informed that every facility of access to the camps is granted. The authorities are, and have been for some time, in communication with various charitable institutions regarding aid to the refugees, and have received expressions of thanks. The refugees are allowed to freely visit the towns adjacent to their camps, and stores have been, so far as practicable, established in the camps themselves."

Mr. Dillon: "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the average weekly cost of the war in South Africa for the last ten weeks."

Mr. Brodrick: "The average cost of the war for the last ten weeks may be taken approximately at about one-and-a-half millions a week."—(*Hansard*, Vol. 92, pp. 897-898.)

## April 23 In the House of Commons:—

Mr. Lambert: "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the approximate war cost of £1,500,000 per week is in addition to the ordinary expenditure in the military services."

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Brodrick) ": Yes, sir."
—(Hansard, Vol. 92, p. 1064.)

May 2 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. W. Redmond, asking as to the numbers of women and children confined in camps, and the death-rate:—

Mr. Brodrick: "In the Transvaal the numbers are 2,840 men, 6,083 women, and 14,251 children; and the deaths since January 1st amount to 284."—(Hansard, Vol. 93, p. 407.)

May 6 Sir A. Milner, speaking in public at Cape Town, said:—
"Nothing in all this weary business is more profoundly satisfactory than the manner in which the British nation

May 7 throughout the world, when once awakened to the real issue -1 admit it was not easy to wake them- . . . have gone straight on the way which was set them from the first, namely, to make an end of this business once for all, and to make this one country under one flag, with one system of law and government, a liberal and just one. . . . sometimes hardly repress a smile when I get letters impressing upon me that it is the interests of the loyalists that ought first to be considered. Well, gentlemen, if ever there was a case of carrying coals to Newcastle, it is here. Here have I been preaching for years, in season and out of season, and in the teeth of bitter obloquy, the duty of the Empire to the South African loyalist. Times out of number I have called attention to the utter folly of the fatal old trick of for ever giving away your friends in the idle hope of conciliating your enemies. And when I speak of loyalty, gentlemen, I mean the genuine coin that can stand the recognised tests, not our well-known local counterfeit."—(Cape Argus, May 6th, 1901.)

May 7 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis:-

Mr. Brodrick: "Refugee camps have been established in the Orange River Colony at Brandfort, Vredefort Road, Bloemfontein, Winburg, Springfontein, Heilbron, Kroonstad, Edenburg, and Harrismith. The numbers in these camps are as follows:—Men 2,814, women 5,621, children 11,245. Deaths from February were: Men 41, women 80, children 261. In Natal there are camps at Maritzburg and Howick, the numbers at which, on 21st March, were as follows:—Men 236, women 826, children 1,462. I have no statistics as to the mortality in these camps."

May 7 "Mr. Herbert Lewis: 1 beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the secret memo, entitled 'Military Notes on the Dutch Republics of South Africa,' revised to June, 1899, containing full information as to the Boer armaments, was supplied to members of the Cabinet in the year 1899, and if so on what date.'

Mr. Brodrick: "Details as to the distribution of secret documents to the Cabinet is a matter which the House will understand cannot be made public."—(*Hansard*, Vol. 93, pp. 930-931.)

- May 8 Sir A. Milner leaves Cape Town for England.
- May 14 Issue of Parliamentary Paper (Cd. 524), giving details of the burning of upwards of 650 farms in the Orange Free State and Transvaal between the months of June, 1900, and January, 1901.
- May 17 Botha, by permission of Kitchener, telegraphs to Kruger asking advice on the entire state of affairs.—(Cd. 663, p. 17.)

May 23 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Bryce, Mr. Brodrick said:—

"The Zulus were allowed to protect their own border against incursions by stray Boer bands, and they were allowed by British officers to assist, unarmed, in collecting stock outside the frontier. This was objected to by the Prime Minister of Natal, and Lord Kitchener took action."—(Hansard, Vol. 94, p. 1034.)

- May 25 Sir A. Milner arrives in England, receives a peerage, and at a luncheon given in his honour by Mr. Chamberlain said:—
  - ". . . I don't know whether I feel more inclined to laugh or to cry when I have to listen for the hundredth time to the dear delusion, the utopian dogmatising, that it only required a little more time, a little more patience, a little more tact, a little more meekness, a little more of all those gentle virtues of which I know I am so conspicuously devoid, in order to conciliate. To conciliate what? Panoplied hatred, insensate ambition, invincible ignorance. I fully believe that the time is coming—Heaven knows how we desire it to come quickly—when all the qualities of the most gentle and forbearing statesmanship which are possessed by any of our people will be called for, and ought to be exercised in South Africa. I do not say there is not even great scope for them to day, but always provided they do not mar what is essential to success in the future, the conclusiveness of the final scenes of the present drama."
- May 29 General Dixon, attacked by General De la Rey at Vlakfontein, loses 174 killed and wounded, including 4 officers killed, in resisting the attack.
- June 6 Elliott attacks convoy under De Wet at Reitz, losing 20 killed and 24 wounded, first capturing convoy from Boers who, however, recaptured all except seven waggons.
- June 10 In the House of Commons, Mr. John Ellis:—
  "I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the policy and practice of burning farm buildings in South Africa for military reasons has been discontinued; and, if so, at what date, and on whose instructions."

Mr. Brodrick:—

- "I informed the House some time ago that, except in cases of treachery and certain recognised nilitary offences, farm houses would not be burned. Specific orders to this effect were given by Lord Kitchener on 7th December, 1900, and I have every reason to think they have been observed."—(Hansard, Vol. 94, p. 1,458.)
- June 12 Boers attack 200 Victorian Rifles at Steenpool Spruit, 20 miles from Middelberg, killing 2 officers and 16 men, wounding 4 officers and 38 men, and capturing many prisoners and 2 pom-poms.

June 14 National Reform Union Banquet in London, to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir W. Harcourt. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said, in reference to farm burning and concentration camps:—

"I venture to say flatly and boldly that such folly was never committed as we have seen committed in our names. There may be in some cases, some military advantage to be gained by the burnings, the destructions, and the removals; but at what a price is it gained? The price of a heavy, overwhelming, irredeemable mortgage on the peace and contentment of South Africa.

Tune 15 Governor of Cape issues plague report as follows:—

"Total cases at Cape Town, 725, including 186 Europeans. Total deaths, 344, including 62 Europeans. Total cases at Port Elizabeth, 11, including 2 Europeans. Total deaths, 6, including 1 European. Total cases at Mafeking, 2 Europeans, both being privates in the North Lancashire Regiment."

June 18 In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Ellis, Mr. C. P. Scott, and Mr. H. Lewis:—

The Secretary of State for War: "The places in the Cape Colony where concentration camps have been formed are Kimberley, Orange River (near Hopetoun), Vryburg, Warrenton, and Port Elizabeth. Lord Kitchener has promised to send figures by telegraph as to the numbers and mortality. . . . The number of persons now or recently in the concentration camps are as follows: Transvaal, 37,739; Natal, 2,524; Orange River Colony, 20,374; Cape Colony, 2,490. The first figures are for May, the remaining figures for March. The figures include a large number of natives. The dietary consists of meat, bread or flour, meal, coffee, sugar, salt, and condensed milk. As the proportions vary somewhat in the different colonies, it is not possible to give full details in reply to a question. The supply of meat is from two to three pounds, and of bread, flour, or meal, about seven pounds a week. The women and children have been, in most instances, brought into the camps because they could not be fed at isolated districts, or because it was necessary to clear the districts in which they are living. I am communicating with Lord Kitchener respecting the release of those who may The deaths in have friends willing to receive them. . . the Johannesburg camp from May 1st to May 31st amounted to 6 men, 6 women, and 68 children. They are accounted for by an epidemic of measles. There is an experienced medical officer in charge, assisted by a qualified matron and a large staff of nurses. The hospital is a well-situated, large, and commodious building. There is no reason to believe that the medical arrangements of this and the other camps are unsatisfactory. . . . The death-rate in the Transvaal camps for May was 39 men, 47 women, and 250 children. Further statistics have been promised me as to the three other colonies."—(*Times*, June 19th.)

June 19 Publication of Miss Emily Hobhouse's report of her visit to the Concentration Camps in South Africa.

Tune 20 Midland Rifles surrounded by Boers at Water-Kloof, 30 miles from Cradock in Cape Colony, losing 8 killed, 6 wounded, and 66 prisoners.

## June 21 In the House of Commons:-

Mr. Brodrick: "The actual number of children in the camps of concentration in South Africa was 34,112 at the end of May.' Mr. Dillon: "Does the right hon, gentleman recollect that he stated to me about six weeks ago that in every one of these camps persons were free to come and go as they liked?"

Mr. Brodrick: "I said nothing of the sort. What I did say was that, in relation to one particular camp in the Cape Colony, about which I was asked, so far as my information went, the persons there were free to come and go. . . ."

Mr. Dillon: "This is a very serious matter. . . . At the earliest possible moment I will call attention to the fact that the statement now made by the right hon, gentleman is not correct, and that he did inform me that every person in the camp was free to come and go."

Mr. Brodrick: "I have to say that the question was pressed upon me amongst several others as a supplementary question, and that I gave such information as I could on the spur of the moment."—(Daily News, June 22nd.) [See reply given February 25th.]

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June 26

Appeal in the Press by Ladies Jersey and Tweedmouth and Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton on behalf of the Victoria League for funds to mitigate the sufferings of the Boer women and children in camps. Another appeal by the Bishop of Hereford. The Secretary of State for War writes that, "the Government view with pleasure the suggestion that funds should be raised to provide comforts in the concentration camps beyond the actual necessaries which the Government can properly provide."

July 1

- In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. John Morley:—
  Mr. Chamberlain: "I am informed that in the absence of Parliamentary provision for expenditure after June 30th, the Ministers of the Cape Colony intend to recommend the Governor to issue warrants for such expenditure.

  The Ministers have recently advised the prorogation of Parliament beyond June 30th, owing to the unsettled condition of the Colony arising from war and rebellion. They consider it is not yet possible to fix a date for the assembling of Parliament, but hope it will be in October.

  For myself, I have to add that the proposed action of the Governor appears to me to be warranted by the public exigency of the moment."
- In the House of Commons in reply to Mr. C. P. Scott:—Mr. Brodrick: "Lord Kitchener states that women, children, aged folk, and reliable men (in the various concentration camps) who have proper means of support outside will be allowed to leave."—(Times, July 2nd.)

July 2 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman speaking at Southampton said:—

"I wish to say a few words on some of the methods pursued in the conduct of the war. We know on the admission of the chief agent of the Government in South Africa that since midsummer of last year our position for many months at least retrograded, and the retrogression was simultaneous with our adaptation of certain harsh measures applied to the inhabitants of the country, the burning of farms, the wrecking of property, the devastation of crops, the destruction of mills and instruments of agriculture, the deportation of women and children. I take strong exception to those measures. I do so not merely on the grounds of humanity and morality, but on the ground of policy, because our objects being what I have described them to be, namely, to bring the war to an early close, and establish good relations and kindly feelings after the war, these practices seem to me to be specially designed to defeat both those objects. I have called them methods of barbarism. So they are. 60,000 and 70,000 women and tender children are imprisoned in camps, huddled together in tents under blazing sun and icy winter winds. Everything has been done by the Commandants of these camps that was in their power to modify the hardship of existence, but such has been the want of proper food and other necessaries, and such the dangers, that the average death rate over all the camps has been 116 in the thousand. I do not know what the death rate in Southampton is, say 13 or 14, and in these camps it is 116. The death rate is an unerring test which knows nothing of prejudice or sentiment."—(Times, July 3rd.)

## July 2 Proclamation of Steyn and Schalk Burger :-

"For considering the answer of his Honour President Kruger a Conference of the Governments of both Republics was arranged. . . . After a full revision of the condition of military affairs represented by the chief military officers . . . the resolution was taken by both Governments 'that no peace will be made for which our independence and national existence, or the interests of our Colonial brothers, shall be the price paid, and that the war will be vigorously prosecuted.'"—(Cd. 663, p. 18.)

July 5 The War Office issued Table of Casualties for the month of June and for the whole period of the war respectively:—

Total reduction of the Field Force, South Africa, due to casualties.

Reported during the month: -

7	OFFICER:	s. N.C.	O. AND MEN.		
Killed in action	. 15		152		
Died of wounds in South Africa			бо		
Died of disease in South Africa	. 8		362		
Accidental deaths in South			· ·		
Africa	. I		30		
Missing and prisoners			75		
Sent home as invalids	141	• • • • • •	3,066		
m					
Total	174	• • • • • •	3,745		
Totals reported up to and including	r the mo	onth :	_		
Killed in action					
Died of wounds			3,971 1,348		
Prisoners who have died in		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	1,340		
captivity			0.2		
Died of disease	219		93 9,788		
Accidental deaths	. 10		378		
			<del></del>		
Total deaths in South Africa	1 769		15,578		
Missing and prisoners (exclud-					
ing those who have been					
recovered or have died in					
captivity)	10	• • • • • •	608		
Sent home as invalids	2,199	• • • • •	50,757		
Table Court Act Plans					
Total, South African Field			66		
Force	2,978	•••••	00,943		
		69,9218			
		~ 71 7= ~ A			

Total reduction of the Military Forces through war in South Africa:—

Deaths in South Africa Missing and prisoners Invalids sent home who have	769 10		15,578 608‡
died	5		365
left the service as unfit	-	•••••	3,083
	<sub>78</sub> 4		19,634
		20,418	

<sup>§</sup> The great majority of the men invalided home have recovered and rejoined for duty.

1901 Julu 9

At a meeting of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, held at the Reform Club, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said in the course of his speech:—

"The subject of first importance at present is not the origin of the war, nor the past conduct of the war; it is the present administration of affairs, and, above all, the future policy to be adopted in South Africa, a question fraught with the most momentous consequences to the Empire and to the position of this country in the world. The whole matter, however, -and I would impress strongly upon you that we should never forget this--rests not within our responsibility, but in the responsibility of His Majesty's Government. I have from first to last, so far as in me lay, done all in my power, and exercised every endeavour that I could put forth, to save the Liberal party from any share in that responsibility. That has been my great object. . . . And the consequence is, when we come to a settlement of affairs in South Africa, that, as a result of that attitude, the Liberal party will be free and unfettered to use its influence in the right direction in that great work."

The following resolution: "That we, the Liberal members of the House of Commons, desire to express to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman our most cordial appreciation of his services to the party and to Liberal principles in Parliament and in the country, and our hearty and continued confidence in him as our leader," was carried unanimously amid great cheering.

There were 163 members at the meeting. Seven were prevented by indisposition from being present.—(*Times*, July 10th.)



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